

U. S. Price Woes Blamed on War Jitters
NATIONAL BANKS SHOW PROFIT GAIN
Negro Families in "Restricted" Area Besieged by Jim Crow Mob

ELECTION PROMISES CALLED NEW
POLICE VIOLENCE:
LISTS \$7,402,449 PROFIT

Home Building Drops Sharply
COCA-COLA PROFITS RISES \$4,000,000
WORKING CAPITAL SETS RECORD HIGH
AFL Votes to Stay in Politics
With Wide 'Education' Plan

Truman Calls a Halt To 'Giving 'em Hell'
NEGRO EDUCATORS SITE HOUSING NEED
for Congress Action for

SLUM CLEARANCE IN ST. LOU
BUSINESS TAKES ELECTION IN STRIDE
Prices Raised by General Motors

Atom Power Held Aid to Rocket War
Health Services Held Inadequate
Skills Are There, But Are Not Being Used, Dr. T. O. Dublin Says, Urging Public to Act

One Year of T.H.
Narrowly Saved From Lynch Law
By Joe Hauske

Forrestal Sets Draft Rules Fines Are U
Florida

JACK RANGER

**NEXT--
A
LABOR
PARTY!**

by

JACK RANGER



Published by
LABOR ACTION
for the
WORKERS PARTY
and
SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE



December 1948

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	3
1. What We Want Out of Life—And What We Get	5
2. What Has Happened?	10
3. What Are Political Parties?	16
4. Labor Parties in the U. S.	22
5. Union Leadership and Politics	25
6. Who Opposes a Labor Party?	30
7. What Will a Labor Party Look Like?	32
8. Why Old Union Leaders Oppose a Labor Party... ..	33
9. New Answers to Well-Worn Arguments	36
10. Henry Wallace and Labor	43
11. How Labor Can Win the Support of the Majority of the People	48
12. What Program for a Labor Party?	50
13. How Long Will It Take?	53
14. What If a Labor Party Is Not Built?	56
15. Socialists and the Labor Party	59

All typesetting, printing, binding, photoengraving, etc., in this pamphlet done by union labor.



Introduction

The surprise re-election of Harry Truman and the reconquest of Congress by the Democrats is being touted as heralding the revival of the Democratic Party and its transformation into a real "party of the people." This at least is the cry at the moment, on the morrow of the election, while the impact of the upset has not yet worn off. It may very well even get a fillip from a relatively brief honeymoon period during which Truman makes a series of gestures to "carry out" his election promises, made in the desperation of impending defeat. But this will not and cannot last long.

It is not the first time, of course, that we have heard this tune. We all heard it during the days of the New Deal. After the New Deal came the war deal, and after the war deal the labor movement looked around, inventoried what remained of the wreckage of its expectations— and found it was right back where it started from: with a reactionary Congress (the notorious 80th) and a President who was breaking more strikes per month than ever.

And now that this same man—"Injunction Harry" the labor leaders were calling him not long ago—has climbed back to office as against a Republican candidate who might or might not have been a more enthusiastic strikebreaker, the same taffy is being put on sale to the kiddies.

Now there is cause for pride and encouragement in the results of the 1948 election on the part of labor. Not because Truman was sent back to the White House but in spite of it. The election showed far more clearly even than the various Roosevelt victories that the ability of labor to swing elections is a *class* power and not merely the result of hitching on to a bandwagon. Under Roosevelt the official political arms of the trade-union movement, like the CIO-PAC, considered themselves part of a broad coalition extending from the Jim Crow Southern troglodytes to the city machines. They looked on labor's part as one contribution among several, and were willing to be put off with the line: "Don't alienate the White Supremacy shouters and the conservatives." But in 1948, the workingmen and little people of the country—because no one offered them any other alternative—threw their votes to a man who had smashed three great strikes, and who gained a measure of popular appeal only by a last splurge of liberal talk (as against a record of quite a different hue) and of fair promises (as against anti-labor deeds).

By all means the labor movement has to insist that Truman redeem his IOUs and cash in his campaign pledges, and this time not be fobbed off with the politicians' cant about "keeping

the coalition together"—the coalition from which the Jim-Crowers and V. I. P.'s had fled like deserting rats. By all means let us push this attempt to its utmost, because only that way will labor learn (this time more quickly) that when it uses its class strength to put a Truman in office out of fear of a Dewey, it has gotten into a rut.

The spectacle of labor going to the polls and deciding the outcome of the election against all the pressure of the pollsters and press prophets is a heartening one. *The people are not being led by the nose by anyone.* The cauldron is simmering underneath; the masses are striving to express their independence from those whose voices are the only ones we ordinarily hear in the press and over the radio. And if all this had to be expressed through a vote for an injunctionist and strikebreaker temporarily dressed up with liberal campaign speeches, it only underscores the point which is made by Jack Ranger in this pamphlet:

The people want a decent living standard and civil rights and peace, and they want to fight for these elementary rights, and they are not to be talked out of it. Give them a weapon! Give them an instrument through which, for the first time, they can fight for THEMSELVES! Give them arms—political arms; a party of their own; a party which can offer an alternative to a Democratic injunctionist and a Republican Taft-Hartleyite; give them a labor party!

The debacle of the Wallace-Stalinist combine in the election has been proof enough that (as Ranger points out) the American people want no part of any movement which stands for appeasement of the Russian totalitarians. The original Wallace hope of getting as much as ten million votes was no idle fantasy back in early 1948; but that was before his own supporters learned what the score was. There *was* a groundswell in his direction for a while, as everyone knows. This groundswell, multiplied a hundred-fold and free from the Stalinist kiss of death, will force the labor movement to build its own party. Because that is the only way the workers can win what they *want* and *need* and *must have*, and not what the capitalist politicians tell them they must be content with.

The question of a labor party will not be downed, now less than ever. Everyone knows now that labor is in politics to stay. By 1950 the labor leaders will again have to look around and take inventory of the results of their policy of tagging after the old parties, and few of the old excuses will have a spark of life left. That year will see congressional and local elections: there is the next mark to shoot at. Local labor-party organizations and independent labor candidates in key parties of the country in 1950: there is the next goal for trade-union militants and progressives.

Let's get started working on it now—right now.

November 1948

H. D.

Next—a Labor Party!

Chapter 1

What We Want Out of Life— And What We Get

WHAT do we want out of life?

Of the 145 million people in this country, only a very small number dream of acquiring or retaining fabulous wealth, or having magnificent homes with a large retinue of servants, fleets of expensive automobiles and a yacht or two.

The vast majority of the population is made up of workers (and their families) in the factories and mines, railroads and offices; small farmers, tenant farmers, sharecroppers and farm laborers; professional people such as teachers, dentists, engineers, musicians.

Among us there are many differences in standard of living, in taste, in outlook. But we have many things in common. In one way or another, all of us work for a living, most of us for an employer; and we are very much alike in what we want to get out of life.

Except for the tiny minority which has great wealth at its command, the first thing that all the common people want is a decent standard of living. No man wants to live merely in order to work. A man works because he wants to live. Before he satisfies any other interest, he wants decent food to eat, decent clothing to wear, and a decent home for himself and his family.

This is a pretty modest ambition. A hundred years ago, only very few people could hope to realize it, even in a country like the United States. But in our own time this ambition is realizable for every man, woman and child in the country. With our tremendous industrial capacity, our modern machinery, our very numerous and highly efficient labor force, our adequate resources and raw materials and our access to the world market, this modest dream could be realized almost overnight for everybody—if society were organized rationally.

The second thing that people want is security. People don't want a decent standard of living that will last only for the period between depressions. They want one that will last a lifetime. They want to know that their children too will enjoy a decent standard of living, one that grows better all the time, richer, more tasteful, more ample. A job that pays pretty well is a very fine thing, but at least half the enjoyment of it is wiped out if one must always be thinking: "But how long will it last? What of tomorrow?"

There is no reason to consider the demand for security any less modest than the demand for a decent standard of living. With very few exceptions, everyone is ready to do his share of work in order to make a living. That provides the country with an ample labor force. The need for the good things of life is always present. That provides the market. And today we have the industrial equipment and the materials to satisfy those needs even if they were twice as big as they now are. Why shouldn't there be the continuous production and the continuously rising prosperity that would completely guarantee economic security for all?

The third thing people want is peace and order at home. Nobody with a lick of sense likes an industrial lockout for its own sake. No worker likes this business of having to fight bitterly, sometimes by means of long-drawn-out and exhausting strikes, to get a few pennies

extra pay. No one with any sense or feeling feels anything but horror at the spectacle of racial conflict in this country, pitting men of one religion against men of another, making men of one color deny men of another color their most elementary human rights and even shoot down and lynch those who lay claims to these rights—as happens with terrible frequency to Negroes.

The People Want Peace

And people want peace throughout the world. They may not know very much or even care very much about other countries and other peoples and their problems. They may not be moved by any great principle of human solidarity with peoples of other lands. But one thing we in the United States have certainly learned since 1914 and 1939 is that what happens in one part of the world very soon affects all other parts of the world. And still another thing learned is that the invention and perfection of modern weapons threaten to wipe out all humanity if another world war should come to pass.

Regardless of who wants war, the common people of every country certainly do not. What do they get out of war? No parent with an ounce of human feeling wants to raise children who, before they have even tasted the joys of life, are sent off to perish in war with another people about whom they know little or nothing and with whom they do not and cannot have any quarrel. Every parent shudders at the realization that each new generation has a new war to die in.

Man does not live by bread alone. Each of us, in his own way, wants more things than these. But all of us have at least these things in common: We want a decent standard of living, security, peace and order at home, and peace all over the world.

What we want is right and natural. What is wrong is that we do not have these things.

How many of us enjoy a really decent standard of

living? Very few. How many of us feel secure in the standard of living we do have? Even fewer. In the country as a whole there is no peace and order, but only a continual series of social outbursts, sharp class conflicts, and the unmistakable rumblings of even more violent and disrupting conflicts to come.

As for peace all over the world, who among us has any serious belief that it is assured for generations to come—or for our sons and daughters—or even for ourselves—or even for the next ten years?

Even now, three years after the Second World War, six minor wars have been fought, any one of which could have blazed up and fired the rest of the world—in Palestine, Greece, Indonesia, Indo-China, China, India. A good half of mankind is involved in these “small” wars. We call them minor wars because the great powers have not yet openly entered the arena.

What we have received in this country—if we are an average family—is largely the very opposite of what we want.

We want a decent standard of living. Instead we are going into debt at a fast clip just to “make ends meet.”

According to the U. S. Department of Labor’s Bureau of Labor Statistics, it requires from \$3,200 to \$3,600 for the average worker’s family of four to maintain a “modest” American standard of living, “without frills.” In October 1947 the average wage for factory workers stood at \$50.97 a week, or roughly \$2,650 a year, *if employed full time the year around*. That is from \$550 to \$950 less than the minimum budget.

One of every three American families has no savings. Total consumer credit outstanding in December 1947 was at an all-time high, more than \$13 billion.

Within two short years after the war, the people have had to go deeper into debt than ever before in history just to keep their heads above water—and this at

a time of peak employment, production, peak profits for the owners of industry, peak foreign trade. It is a dark harbinger of the future.

We want decent homes for our families, in a clean neighborhood. We receive a housing situation that is a national scandal—one third and more of the nation ill-housed—resulting in shattered families, broken marriages, suicides, shoddy new houses sold at inflated prices, tragedies of all kinds.

What Stands in the Way?

We want, most of us, freedom from racial or religious trouble. We get periodic lynchings in the South, race riots in the North, restrictions against Negroes and Jews, every discrimination against the colored people, anti-Semitic manifestations in scores of cities, persecution of religious and conscientious objectors to war.

We want freedom from strikes, yet each year millions of us must march on the picket lines, in a desperate effort to win a few cents more an hour from hostile employers, in order that our pay checks may retain at least a nodding acquaintance with sky-high prices.

We want peace. We got the war with Spain at the end of the last century, then the First and then the Second World War. Today, several years after the last war, the United States government is spending more for war preparations each year than the total pre-war budget. Hundreds of thousands of people are even now at work on the horrible weapons of the First Atomic War.

The hour of decision is close at hand. To get the things we want out of life, we must act. Good things do not come of themselves.

We know what we want. The first thing to do is to find out what it is that stands in the way of our desires, why it is that we haven’t gotten what we want up to now. Then we will decide what we must do.

Chapter 2

What Has Happened?

THE truth is that something new has been added to American life, something that our grandfathers and great-grandfathers did not have to put up with: the growth of monopoly in all fields of life.

Beginning in 1900 with the organization of the first billion-dollar corporation, U. S. Steel, industry after industry has been captured by monopoly, until today there are more than forty billion-dollar corporations exercising a controlling interest in almost every important field—banking, insurance, railroading, steel, auto, rubber, aluminum, shipping, food, liquor, farm machinery, etc.

The system has grown old. Capitalism, which at one time permitted a progressive development of the nation's resources, has today turned into a fetter to further development.

Free land has disappeared. New inventions, unless they have a military value, are suppressed by the hundreds. The national debt has increased to more than \$250 billion. The nation is being more and more saddled with a military hierarchy. The fingers of the big banks are everywhere.

The federal police apparatus has grown enormously, together with repressive laws against the people. Transportation and distribution costs each year take a larger share of the nation's income, swallowing up 58 per cent of the consumer's dollar. The dollar itself becomes of less and less value as prices rise to the highest in history. Corporate profits in the opening months of 1948 were at an all-time high.

But there is no prosperity for the masses.

Liberal capitalism, based upon free trade and competition, has receded into the past, never to be recalled. It has been succeeded by monopoly capitalism, the rule

of the banks, and by bureaucratic government "planning."

The United States, which from 1790 to 1890 appeared to the world as a great progressive force, the enemy of every tyrant and the friend of every free man, has turned into its opposite. The U. S. appears today in Europe and Asia and Latin America and Africa as a reactionary force. There is no anti-democratic gangster government anywhere on the earth outside the sphere of its Russian rival but cannot be assured of support from Washington—whether it be in China, Indonesia, Iran, Egypt, Greece, Turkey, South Africa, Italy, France, Colombia or Brazil.

By all odds, the one most important factor bearing upon the lives of every person in the United States is the spread of monopoly. Steadily since 1900, monopoly has imprisoned segment after segment of the American economy, removing it from competition, lifting it above the people.

Monopoly's Grip

Under both Republican and Democratic administrations, monopoly has quietly advanced. Never did it grow so swiftly as under the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, from the days of the Blue Eagle to the war. With the post-war gift of the war factories to the monopolists, the latter may be said to have virtually completed their conquest of the United States. They have within their iron grasp all the most important industries of this nation, and can only grow further by gobbling up each other or by expanding their grip beyond the borders to other continents.

How hypocritical was big business in 1946 when it ordered its politicians to end price control, with the sly lie that "the play of natural supply-and-demand factors" would bring down prices!

Here is the point. Once monopoly controls an indus-

try, that industry is lifted above "the play of natural supply-and-demand factors." Supply and demand, the old "law" of competitive capitalism under which our grandfathers lived, no longer operates in a monopolized economy. The monopoly, through its control of the supply, can charge any price it wishes, usually selecting that price at which its profits will be largest.

How much of our economy is now within the kingdom of monopoly?

In many industries (according to the government's Temporary National Economic Committee) concentration has reached the point where one or two companies control nine-tenths of the supply. A partial list of industries where there is only one dominant company (in 1937) would include: aluminum, shoe machinery, glass container machinery, optical glass, nickel, molybdenum, magnesium, magnesium alloys, telephone service, international communications, Pullman cars, transoceanic aviation, beryllium, etc.

Summaries of corporate income-tax returns for 1937 (the last "normal" year) showed that the 394 largest corporations in this country—less than one-tenth of one per cent of the total number reporting—owned about 45 per cent of the total corporate assets.

A special Securities and Exchange Commission study prepared for the TNEC showed the distribution of ownership in the 200 largest non-financial corporations in the United States. These 200 giants owned 40 per cent of the assets of all non-financial corporations, and accounted for nearly 45 per cent of the dividends distributed by such corporations. Their capital stock was valued at 65 per cent of the total of all non-financial corporations listed on the New York Stock and Curb Exchanges at the end of 1937. The SEC study showed that, in 1937, 75,000 persons owned fully half of all corporate stock held by individuals in this country.

Since the above figures were compiled, monopoly has

walked in seven-league boots, impelled by the war during which 100 large companies held 76 per cent of all war supplies contracts in excess of \$50,000.

Those industries not already controlled by monopoly achieve economic results similar to a monopoly through secret nation-wide price-fixing agreements by which all pledge not to cut prices below a certain figure. A tremendous extension of the price-fixing racket, covering even small items sold in drug and grocery stores, is the "Fair Trade Practice" law, whereby retailers are refused permission to handle an item unless they pledge, under penalty, not to sell it below a certain figure—that is, to hold up the public.

The monopolists today hold in their hands the threads that control the economy *and the politics* of this nation, and that determine the life of every person in America—what price we shall pay for the commodities we must have to live, whether we shall go to war, and where we shall go to war.

The Trust-Busting Fake

Where were the Republican and Democratic parties when the monopolists were taking over the economy?—the outraged "innocent" may ask.

The answer is simple: One of the fields where monopoly holds sway is the field of politics. The Republican and Democratic parties are the political servants of the monopolists, as we shall shortly show. These parties protect the monopolists and guard them from the charge of evading the law.

Oh, to be sure, the Department of Justice prosecutes the monopolists. It is forever filing anti-trust suits against the monopolists. But nothing happens.

The monopolists control the courts, from the Roosevelt-packed Supreme Court on down. Occasionally (and more and more seldom as the monopolists wax stronger) light fines are levied, which the monopolists pay as eas-

ily as you pay your carfare to work. For the monopolists can gouge the amount of the fine from the public in an hour of business.

How long has this been going on? Since 1900 and before, when U. S. Steel and Standard Oil were formed. Under Theodore Roosevelt, under Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt, and Truman.

Time and again the parties of capitalism have investigated the trusts. But nothing has ever been done.

Just as the conquest of the American economy by monopoly has made for artificially high prices at home, so has it made for war abroad.

Most of the American trusts have large financial stakes in other countries, in Latin America, Europe, Asia, Africa. They own factories abroad, obtain raw materials abroad, have large investments abroad, have markets abroad, and they all hope with good reason (under the bipartisan foreign policy of their political agents) to further enlarge their foreign holdings.

Whenever a war begins anywhere in the world—even such a “little” war as in Palestine—it immediately threatens the interests of American big business. The bankers go to work on the State Department, the State Department goes to work on the warring powers, and if the private investments abroad of U. S. capitalists are not protected, the State Department and the White House find means of provoking “incidents” which demand the intervention of the U. S. army and navy. The country is in the war. It was thus in 1917, it was thus in 1941, it will be thus tomorrow.

Why are American warships and marines in the Mediterranean today, why is President Truman giving hundreds of millions of dollars to the tyrannous rulers of Greece and Turkey, why is Washington pursuing a double game in Palestine and waging a “cold war” against its imperialist rival, Russia? It should be crystal-clear to anyone with an elementary knowledge of the

world's resources that a large part of the answer lies in the fabulous oil reserves of the Near East, in the huge stakes in those reserves by U. S. oil companies, and in the threat to those investments from Russia and from the Palestinian hostilities.

Monopoly in Politics Too

Long before Marx saw the light of day, American political philosophers like James Madison and Alexander Hamilton understood very clearly that politics is but a reflection and extension of economic interests, and that the dominant economic interests in any nation dictate the policies of that nation.

So it has proved with the monopolists, as the next chapter will show. Just as the economic wealth of the nation has become concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer individuals commanding immense wealth, so have these same individuals extended their monopolist sway over the politics of the nation.

It is no exaggeration to say, for instance, that one corporation such as Standard Oil and its sister companies and subsidiaries swings a thousand times more weight in Washington than the 16 million members of organized labor.

Big business since 1900 has monopolized the politics of the nation, as it has monopolized the nation's economy.

This booklet presents a plan and a program to the workers and farmers of America to break the political monopoly of big business and to build a labor party which can take over the federal government and the state governments and place the political control of the nation in the hands of those who produce the nation's wealth, not in the hands of those who exploit the wealth and the people for their own narrow interests.

Chapter 3

What Are Political Parties?

THE Constitution of the United States, of course, makes no mention of political parties.

When this nation was organized in the heat of revolutionary struggle against the British, there were no political parties as we know them today. Nor were there in the early days of the republic. It was only as opposition developed among the Southern plantation owners to the steps taken by Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, on behalf of Eastern business interests that the people of the new nation gradually divided into two parties.

These parties, solidly grounded in class economic interest, grew steadily in coherence and definiteness of program. They were known as the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists. The Southern Anti-Federalists later took the name of Republicans and still later the name of Democrats, the present party of that name. The Federalists, during the regime of Andrew Jackson, took the name "National Republicans," then "Whigs." The party was more and more torn by class issues, by trying unsuccessfully to represent more than one class. One splitoff was the Know-Nothing or American Party, a sort of forerunner of today's anti-labor, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro movements like Gerald L. K. Smith's.

In February 1854 a number of Whigs and Northern Democrats assembled at Ripon, Wisconsin, and organized the new Republican Party—to fight, not against slavery, but against its extension.

In the 1856 elections, the Republicans ran John C. Fremont for president, against Whig candidate Millard Fillmore and Democratic candidate James Buchanan. Fremont split the anti-Democrat vote and Buchanan won. (The Philip Murrys and A. F. Whitney of that

day uttered agonized cries against the Republicans for "splitting the progressive vote.")

But the Republicans had hold of the red-hot issue of the day—anti-slavery—and it made its own way, as a good idea does and will.

In 1860 it was the turn of the Democratic Party to split wide open, one faction nominating Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois to oppose the domination of the Southern planters, and the Southern Democrats nominating John S. Breckinridge of Kentucky. The candidate of the young Republican Party, Abraham Lincoln, won, though receiving less than the combined votes of the Democratic factions. The election of Lincoln represented a basic class shift in American political life. The national government ceased being an instrument of the slaveholding South and instead became the pliant tool of the capitalist North.

Ruling classes, however, do not give up power without a struggle. A civil war followed which established the supremacy of capitalism in the nation. The slave system was destroyed. The all-powerful Republicans permitted the Democratic Party to survive. Capitalism bent both parties to its will.

No Basic Difference

The story of politics in the United States since the Civil War, as related by Beard, Parrington, Lundberg, Josephson and other historians, is the story of the gradual erasing of distinctions between the Republican and Democratic Parties in the North, the subordination of both to big business, and the early attempts by enraged farmers and workers to oppose the bankers and industrialists with Populist, labor, farmer-labor and socialist parties.

At certain stages in history there have been differences between the Republican and Democratic Parties, and one or the other of the parties has served a pro-

gressive purpose. But for decades now there have been no vital issues between the two parties.

The only political issues permitted in American life have been those involving the interests of one section of big business as against another section. Great social issues affecting the lives of the people—such as the issue of war or peace in 1917 and in 1941, or the issue of monopoly control, or of socialism versus capitalism—these have never separated the two parties under the system of political monopoly obtaining in the United States. Or rather, such issues make their appearance only as vague campaign promises, which those in the know understand perfectly well will never be redeemed.

Political patronage, public plunder and robbery on a colossal scale, debauchery of municipal, state and federal government, corruption of the law courts and the regulatory commissions have become widespread in American politics. From time to time in various communities, liberal “do-gooders” and disappointed politicians organize “reform” movements to “throw out the rascals.” If the reformers succeed, they very often take over all the scandalous practices of the rascals whom they follow into office.

If the American people had all the facts before them, the facts would convince them that this nation is run by the monopolists, and that the monopolists dominate both the Republican and Democratic Parties.

“The men placed in the highest public offices from McKinley through Hoover were all the political creatures of the wealthy,” wrote Lundberg in his *America's Sixty Families*.

The monopolists contribute impartially to the treasuries of both old parties. “Families that contributed both to the Republicans and the Democrats,” recorded Lundberg, “included the duPonts, Harknesses, Vanderbilts, Fleischmanns, McCormicks, Goelets, Whitneys, Strausses, Guggenheims and Bradys. Where identical

estates did not contribute to both parties on a family basis they often did so on a corporate basis. Many corporation officers in the lower brackets of contributors gave funds to the party formally opposed by the head of a particular [financial] clan. In this way the avenue of approach was kept open to the key men, the financial managers, in each party.

“The Wall Street banks, incidentally, while Republican in politics, make a regular practice of keeping a few outstanding Democrats among their chief officers,” said Lundberg.

Two Factions of Wall Street's Party

The Democratic and Republican Parties are themselves only factions of Wall Street's party, maintained by the wealthy to oppose labor's interests and to advance the interests of the wealthy, at home and abroad.

The maintenance of the capitalist two-party system and its ability to mislead the people depend in large measure upon deception, upon the fiction that there are major and decisive differences between the Republicans and Democrats. During the recent war and in the post-war period the differences between the two parties and their candidates have tended to dwindle to a narrow margin, if not to vanish altogether.

Both parties had common war programs, both supported Wall Street's plans for maintaining monopolist control during reconversion. Both agreed on handing over billions in government-owned plants and equipment to private ownership at fire-sale prices. Both are united in support of the aggressive foreign policy which gives support to any reactionary government in the world, just so the latter be anti-Russian. Both parties unite in keeping the Negro down, in upholding Jim Crow in the armed forces, in preventing passage of a fair employment practices law. Both parties unite in

shackling the union movement, in placing the costs of government on the workers' backs.

What more could the rich have received and the poor have suffered in recent years had a Republican rather than a Democrat been in office?

Today the political parties of big business are united on one program: to place squarely upon the backs of the workers the burden of the recent war and of post-war militarism, expenditures for atomic weapons, the disorganization of the world's monetary systems, and aid to reactionary governments throughout the world.

"If we don't elect Tweedledee, then Tweedledum will be in the White House," the shells of the old parties scream. As though that would make any important difference in the policies of the national government!

Candidates and campaign platforms are not especially important to the monopolists today. The current needs of big business always come first with both old parties. The personality of the president is secondary.

Franklin Roosevelt, one of the most talented politicians the capitalists of this or any other country have ever used, sticks out like a sore thumb amid the political nonentities who preceded and succeeded him on the political scene. The New Deal government of Roosevelt was called into being in 1933 to save the capitalist system and to buy off the growing mass sentiment for revolutionary change. It succeeded eminently in its task.

He swerved the masses from a radical road and, with the help of conservative labor leaders, convinced good numbers of workers that he was their friend, while starving them on and off WPA and handing over more and more of the wealth of the country to the rich. Finally, when the policies of his administration utterly failed to revive the capitalist system to anything approaching health, Roosevelt took the country into the imperialist war.

During the war Roosevelt erased double-time pay,

enforced compulsory arbitration through government agencies, froze wages, permitted anti-strike legislation, broke strikes by fake governmental seizures, taxed the needy instead of the greedy, and put the workers so deep in the hole they haven't yet been able to dig their way clear. To this day the liberal and labor apologists for Roosevelt conceal his real role as a savior of capitalism from the people.

Promises and Platforms

Just as the personality of presidents is of secondary importance to the capitalists, so are party platforms. With a labor party, a platform is an instrument of mass education, to mark the road ahead and offer goals to the people. The labor party means to achieve its program. With the old parties, a platform is only a vote-catching device, nothing else. In 1932 Roosevelt promised to cut government spending. In 1936 he hated "wah." In 1940 he was labor's friend, etc.

All the time, the Democratic Party was the "friend of the Negro." Peculiar that this friendly party; in control of the White House, the Congress and the courts, could never seem to pass any effective legislation to defend Negro rights. . . . But don't let the Republicans jeer! For twelve years prior to Roosevelt, they had *their* chance and did just as little.

No, candidates and campaign platforms are not especially important in American politics to the monopolists. Whatever candidate or whichever of the two parties succeeds to office, the rich know their interests will be protected.

Truly, the government is for them an "executive committee of the ruling class," to protect their interests.

Chapter 4

Labor Parties in the U. S.

EXCLUDED from any real voice or vote in the old parties, the workers and farmers of the United States have many times sought to organize new parties that would represent *their* interests.

Indeed, the very first labor party in the world was briefly established more than a century ago, in Philadelphia in 1828, and subsequently spread to New York, New Jersey and the New England states. The Workingman's Party of 1828 had some success, electing a number of minor officials and one New York assemblyman.

That party, together with the unions, achieved many notable reforms in the short span of its existence. Imprisonment for debt and compulsory military service were abolished. A mechanics' lien law was passed. Conspiracy laws were repealed. Shorter hours were won. The banking system was reformed. Homestead laws were passed. Free public education was attained. The very existence of the labor party and its agitation forced reforms from the older parties.

Every decade since then has seen some sort of attempt to initiate some kind of "progressive" party.

The last serious attempt to form a national labor party came after the First World War, when the state federations of labor in Illinois, Indiana and Pennsylvania, the railroad brotherhoods, and scores of city central labor bodies formed a labor-party movement.

The story of how this party was harassed from within and without—by union officials beholden to the old parties, and by the Communist Party with its heavy-handed sectarian tactics of that period—is too long to be told here. The party fell into the hands of old Senator Robert La Follette, ran La Follette and Senator Burton Wheeler for president and vice-president in 1924, re-

ceived some five million votes or 16.6 per cent of the total, and then quietly folded up.

The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, formed in 1918 through a merger of the strong socialist movement in the Twin Cities with the farmers' Non-Partisan League, had the longest existence of any labor party in the United States, maintaining itself for twenty-eight years, electing representatives, senators and governors; it was finally killed off in 1944 through a merger with the Democratic machine in that state, after certain Republican and Democratic politicians within the ranks of labor, aided by the Communist Party, squeezed its life out.

The man who took the lead in scuttling the Farmer-Labor Party was Elmer Benson, the small-town banker who succeeded to the governorship of Minnesota on the Farmer-Labor ticket in 1936, upon the death of Floyd B. Olson. Benson came completely under the sway of the Stalinists, tossed labor's program out the window, antagonized the entire union movement, and (toeing the current CP line) drove the party into a merger with the Democrats on a pro-war, flag-waving program. This Benson is today the head of the Wallace-Stalinist party (called the "Progressive Party").

Why Did Third Parties Fail?

Minnesota's experience with the Farmer-Labor Party, however, refutes the contention of the uninformed that the Republican-Democratic sham battle is "natural" to the United States, that the workers cannot build a party of their own, that they cannot win support from farmers and "small people" in the cities.

Why did the "progressive" movements of the last century fail to establish a stable and effective political movement? Students of the efforts of American workers and farmers to form their own political movement declare that the aims, programs and leadership of these movements were (mainly) middle-class in character.

They lacked the stamina to weather boom periods or political defeats. Their leadership was largely made up of careerist politicians, who were usually ready to make unprincipled deals with the managers of the two old parties, and to forsake the interests of their followers for a few formal concessions or promises; to withdraw from the task of building an independent movement for the sake of a cheap and easy accession to office.

Also important are the mesmerizing effect of the two-party system, and the aggressive action of the capitalist politicians and their press in throwing their full weight against every sign of independent political action reflecting mass discontent.

However, today there are signs that the bipartisan system of the exploiters, historically sanctified by generations of experience, is fast breaking down. Labor is more restless than at any time since 1933. In 1947 it saw majorities of both the Republican and Democratic Parties vote to shackle the union movement with the Taft-Hartley anti-labor law.

Many sections of the union movement have adopted resolutions calling for the organization of a labor party. Even the candidacy of Henry Wallace—though far from representing a labor party and though obviously based on Wallace's personal political ambitions and on the need of the Communist Party to oppose Washington's anti-Russian foreign policy—at first evoked a significant response from many people who desired earnestly to break out of the confines of the Republican-Democratic monopoly which is stifling the people.

The coming economic crisis, far more than in 1929-40, will awaken all the class antagonisms that slumber in the depths of American society. The sharpened class conflicts will in all likelihood no longer be confined and regulated within the old two-party system.

Chapter 5

Union Leadership and Politics

FOR generations, the union leaders of the United States have accepted the monopoly of political life by big business. They have accepted the perpetuation of the Republican-Democratic system, and have rejected the theory that labor must organize independently on the political field as it has on the economic field. Trade-union politics has been summarized in Gompers' old slogan, "Reward your friends, punish your enemies."

In effect, the carrying out of this policy has meant that union leaders have sought to encourage the workers to vote for those candidates of either of the old parties designated by the leadership as "progressive," and have sought to discourage the workers from forming a labor party which would run labor's own candidates.

American trade-union officials, alone among the trade-union leaders of the world, have taught for generations that the economic struggles of the workers can be divorced from their political struggles.

Since the days of Samuel Gompers, founder of the American Federation of Labor, right down to 1948, the big majority of union leaders have united on the following proposition:

That it is 100 per cent right for workers to organize into labor unions on the economic field, and 100 per cent wrong for workers to organize into a labor party on the political field.

In no other nation in the world is such a backward and ignorant and treacherous union political policy permitted. For generations the workers of England, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Australia, New Zealand have had their own labor parties, which from time to time have taken over political leadership of their respective nations.

Whether these labor parties of our fellow workers in foreign lands have pursued policies that were wise or unwise, bold or timid, consistent or inconsistent, is not our subject now. That such labor parties have been successfully organized and have intervened forcefully in politics in the name of the unions is undeniable.

We would be the last to deny and the first to proclaim that there are special reasons for this unusual delay (what the professors call this "cultural lag") on the part of the American trade-union movement to arm itself with a labor party. Among the unique forces in U. S. history which have tended to postpone such a development are the following:

The granting of male suffrage on a broad basis in the United States at a comparatively early stage in the nation's history; unparalleled tides of immigration which brought workers of many diverse nationalities to these shores and which, while they enriched the nation and eventually the union movement, at first made it more difficult for labor to achieve unity in action; the existence of a frontier of cheap or free land right up to the turn of this century, to which the dissatisfied city worker could move, relieving class discontent; the anti-political prejudices of important figures in the American labor movement, such as Gompers (founder of the AFL), Bill Haywood and other IWW leaders; the Jim Crow policies of many trade unions, which prevented unity between the white workers and the remaining one seventh of our nation; the greater mobility of the American worker, his willingness when impoverished in one community to try his luck in another; the size of the nation, which has made the building of a nation-wide labor party a formidable task; the narrow craft jealousies of American workers, encouraged by the old union leadership; *above all, the ability of the two old capitalist parties to find tools within the union movement willing to serve the Republican-Democratic ma-*

chine and to perpetuate political company-unionism.

The probability is great that the end of the road for such a politically backward labor policy is fast approaching. The attempt, in our time, to separate the economic struggle from the political is less feasible than ever.

This is indicated by the fact that administrative decrees or legislative acts are brought into play to cut workers' wages, to raise prices, to open union finances and membership lists to the inspection of the employers, to send the police or the military against labor, to place the weapon of injunction in the hands of the employers, to shift burdensome tax loads from business to labor. So do the progressively deeper depressions, the increasingly destructive wars. Not only will the pressure from labor's ranks for more aggressive action on the political field mount, but the very trade-union leadership which plays ball with the old parties will find its own position increasingly threatened—from these old parties.

Three Assumptions of Pressure Politics

The political company-unionism of the trade-union bureaucracy is failing utterly to defend the interests of the workers. It isn't paying off in adequate wage levels—nor in security—nor in freedom from war—nor in freedom from oppressive taxation—nor in enhanced civil liberties—nor in freedom from the necessity to strike—nor in a fair break for the Negroes. It hasn't even protected the union movement against a smashing blow like the Taft-Hartley Law—passed, let it always be recalled, *by a majority of both Democratic and Republican congressmen.*

Labor's position has greatly worsened since the war's end. Everyone acknowledges this. Something must be radically wrong with the theory of "pressure politics," the theory that labor should continue to "reward its friends and punish its enemies" in the old parties. Let's give this theory the once-over.

Pressure politics as practiced from Gompers' time to today is based upon three major assumptions:

(1) That labor itself is too weak, poorly organized, and outnumbered to launch its own political party.

(2) That the old parties are not the political tools of the capitalists, but are non-class vehicles which are impartially receptive to whoever wishes to ride them.

(3) That capitalism not only can continue to give the working class what it has given in the past, but can even increase the ante. Or, if it cannot give a decent living to all the workers, at least it can "take care" of the aristocrats of labor.

The first assumption may have had some point prior to 1900. Today it is ludicrous. Today labor is far and away the largest class in the population. The American workers are better organized economically than any other working class in the history of the world. Sixteen million men and women belong to trade unions in the United States.

With an apparatus like this, given the will to build a labor party, almost overnight the working class could confront its enemies on the political field with a formidable party that would force respect.

We have shown that the second of the assumptions mentioned above is false. The Republican and Democratic Parties belong to big business, which owns them and directs their policies. Labor leaders are permitted to solicit votes for these parties. But they are not permitted to determine party policy.

If it is to the interests of big business to throw this nation into war, both old parties embrace pro-war policies. If the fundamental interests of American capitalism are best served by granting a measure of relief to the unemployed or the aged, such relief is given. If it serves the current needs of American capitalism to cripple the trade unions, a Taft-Hartley Law is passed. Labor has no voice in such decisions.

The last assumption, that American capitalism can continue to give the working class what it has given in the past, is equally false. Throughout the world, the capitalist world is on the skids. What the First World War and the 1929-39 depression started, the Second World War pretty well finished. Capitalism with its depressions and wars has brought all of Europe to ruin, and has sapped the system in the United States, as will become shockingly clear in the near future.

Capitalism Running Dry

In Europe and Asia the old economic and political machines of the capitalists can go through the motions of functioning still, fed as they are by billions of dollars which the Republican-Democratic machine syphons out to them. The system is through, all over the world. Only in the United States is capitalism still able to look alive and prosperous, and then only because of the ruination of the rest of the world.

From now on out, American capitalism will be able to give less and less to the American people—less security, fewer of the good things of life, less freedom for the unions, fewer civil liberties. In store for us are higher taxes, increasing militarization, increasing repression, and ultimately—*unless the labor party is formed to launch a workers' government in Washington*—fascism, the final scourge which capitalism visits upon its victims.

This is the course of politics under capitalism, in all countries: from liberal capitalism, to monopoly capitalism, to fascism. The poorer the country, the more rapidly the cycle is completed.

The cycle can be broken only by labor's active, aggressive, radical intervention in political life.

Chapter 6

Who Opposes a Labor Party?

WHAT social forces in the United States oppose the proposition that the working people should have their own political party, to advance labor's solution of the abolition of the obvious ills of society?

First of all, big business. Because big business enjoys, and has enjoyed for generations, a political monopoly in this nation. Working through its two old parties, contributing more or less impartially to each, it has effectively prevented the voice of labor from being heard on the floor of Congress, in the state capitols, and in the city council chambers. Naturally, any monopolist fights tooth and nail against any threat to his monopoly. So it is with the political monopolists of big business.

Second, the politicians who serve big business. A labor party would threaten their employment, not to speak of their graft.

Third, the labor lieutenants of capitalism. Labor leaders like Murray and Tobin and Green and Whitney are tied by a thousand threads to the old parties, which, in turn for such support, help to bolster their bureaucratic grip on the union movement.

A neat example of this was shown in 1941 when the Minneapolis teamsters, threatened by International President Dan Tobin with a receivership, revolted under the leadership of the Trotskyists and joined the CIO. Tobin is a member of the National Committee of the Democratic Party. Immediately that party went into action to save Tobin and his rotten union machine. President Roosevelt, that "great friend of labor," personally intervened, instructing the Department of Justice to proceed against the Trotskyists on a "conspiracy" charge. FBI men were put at the disposal of Tobin and aided Tobin organizers in building terrorist squads

against the Minneapolis drivers. The Republican Party machine also was brought to the aid of Tobin. Governor Stassen broke his own Stassen "Slave Law" (a forerunner of the Taft-Hartley federal law) by denying the Minneapolis drivers their democratic right to vote on whether they wished to be represented by Tobin or by the CIO. That is how the boss parties protect the house-broken labor leaders when the latter are threatened by a revolt from the ranks.

Unholy Alliance

The capitalist parties aid men like Tobin in their struggle to maintain leadership of union affairs. Such labor leaders know that younger and more progressive leaders could use the labor party as a lever against them and their illicit political alliances with the old party machines.

Fourth, the Stalinists, who always oppose *any manifestations of independence* on the part of the workers. The Stalinists know that they could not hope to control a labor party based upon the unions. So they fight it just as vigorously as do the political agents of big business, and for approximately the same reason. Both are monopolists, one serving American imperialism, the other Russian imperialism.

Fifth, all the other servants of monopoly—the capitalist press, the political organs of the Republican and Democratic Parties, often openly; the radio; the movies; some church officials; army and navy brass—all who count on the capitalist parties for political favors and privileges.

Chapter 7

What Will a Labor Party Look Like?

THERE will be no mistaking the labor party when it arises. Whether it comes into being first on a local or regional scale or as a full-blown national organization, it will have certain characteristics.

First of all, it will be organized by and based upon considerable sections of the trade-union movement. It will be led by, financed by and fought for by union men and women. It will be controlled by union labor. Its political program will reflect labor's needs. Its candidates will for the most part be union men and women.

Its national committee will be composed, in the majority, of delegates from the unions. (In addition it may have, as the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota had, precinct and ward clubs.)

With the capitalist-minded labor leaders still in political control of the union movement, it was not possible for the ranks of labor to throw off these parasites in time to run a national labor party ticket in the 1948 election. That is our No. 1 task for 1952.

But we can start, today, to clean up our own locals, to organize in opposition to those who would weaken us by keeping us tied to the corrupt and corrupting capitalist parties. We can insist that our union leaders, if they are members of the capitalist parties, either break their alliance with such parties or face a contest for union leadership. We can organize in the cities to run city and state labor party candidates in 1950.

As each local labor-party movement gains strength, it owes it to its own future to invest a part of its money and energies in educational work to further the movement in its own state and adjacent states, to help other union localities to get on the right road.

Chapter 8

Why Old Union Leaders Oppose a Labor Party

WHY don't people like Green and Murray and Tobin and Lewis and Dubinsky and Whitney support the campaign for a labor party? Certainly, they cannot contend that the two old parties have given anything to labor in recent years—except the Taft-Hartley Law, return to the labor injunction, higher taxes, the end of price control, heavy court fines and increasing militarization and regimentation.

The main reason that the conservative labor leaders oppose a labor party is because they *think* like capitalists, they *believe* in capitalism and its politics. They are rich men, receiving \$12,000, \$20,000, \$30,000, \$40,000 a year, plus all sorts of perquisites. They no longer live the same lives as do their union members. They have been out of the mines and factories and locomotive cabs for many years. They hobnob with the rich, dine with them, travel with them, drink with them, and absorb the ideas and politics and social views of the rich, to whom an independent labor party is abhorrent.

Not only are such union officials opposed to an independent labor party, they are *for* and often a *part* of the boss parties.

A poll of 410 AFL and CIO leaders was taken in May 1947 on the question: "As far as national politics are concerned, would you during the next two or three years prefer to work for labor's viewpoint within one or both of the major parties, or would you prefer to set up a new labor party entirely separate from either of them?"

The second course was favored by 12 per cent of the AFL leaders and 23 per cent of the CIO leaders. This is encouraging and shows that the labor party already

has a good nucleus of support among the union leadership. It can be assumed that in the union ranks the proportion in favor now is very much higher.

A slightly higher percentage of the union officials polled was in favor of a labor party "within the next ten years"—that is, "never, unless we are forced to move."

Answers to the poll showed that *two-thirds of these AFL and CIO leaders were members of the Republican and Democratic Parties*. Within the the AFL, 10 per cent of the leadership belonged to the Republican, 49 per cent to the Democratic, 5 per cent to "other parties," 24 per cent to no party, and 4 per cent did not answer. In the CIO, 7 per cent were Republicans, 65 per cent were Democrats, 8 per cent "other," 17 per cent no party, and 2 per cent did not answer. Thus, 59 per cent of the AFL officials and 72 per cent of the CIO officials were affiliated with the political company unions of the employers.

This is a key fact about the present-day union officialdom, and unless you understand this, you won't understand why we haven't a labor party already, or what must be done before we can have our own party.

The chances are that you do not even know that the top official of your union is, in all likelihood, a member in good standing, and a peculiarly important member, of a boss political party. That he caucuses regularly with other members of his party—with bankers and manufacturers and editors and police chiefs and mayors and governors and aldermen, all in the interests of preserving the party which safeguards the profits of the bosses.

Why do union officials affiliate with the boss parties? Because they *think* like the bosses on political questions. Because the boss parties often help protect the union leaders in their union posts. Sometimes, to get a cut of the political graft.

How can we get a labor party if our unions are

headed by leaders belonging to, or looking for guidance from, the old parties?

How to Start

In the first place, there are at least 20 per cent of the union officialdom already won over to the idea of the labor party. (Another 20 per cent is neutral, not tied up with the capitalist parties.) This is a formidable group lying directly at hand, to help launch the fight.

Progressive unionists, both in the ranks and in the leadership, should begin immediately to form a labor-party caucus in their union locals; to draw in sympathetic representatives from other unions. As soon as the movement has a base among the unions, try to draw in representatives of other organizations in the locality that might naturally be disposed to a labor party—consumers' cooperatives, the Farmers' Union, parents' groups, tenant leagues, Negro organizations, etc.

Analyze the local political situation. Draw up a program that really meets the needs of the people in the locality—their housing needs, health needs, school needs, wage needs, union needs, transportation needs, the needs of the veterans, Negroes, youth, aged. Determine which offices the labor party should seek. Launch the political campaign.

We'll probably lose the first time out, even the second time out, but we'll gain invaluable experience and we will have started the educational work which in time will bring the labor party to victory. Time and the tide of events are working *for* a labor party and *against* the old bankrupt parties.

Chapter 9

New Answers to Well-Worn Arguments

OPPONENTS of the proposition that the labor movement of the United States should build its own labor party are not too inventive.

The arguments that one hears today from the union officialdom and the liberal do-gooders are the same (in many cases, word-for-word the same) as those that have been advanced by opponents of the labor-party idea in the past two generations. Here are the chief arguments, and here are the answers:

(1) *It is not the time to build a labor party.*

ANSWER: To the Republican-Democratic monopoly, and to its followers and beneficiaries in the leadership of the trade-union movement, 1948 was *not* the time for the unions to organize their own party and place a ticket in the field. Neither was 1946 the time. Nor 1942. Nor 1936. Nor 1928. Neither will 1950 be the time. Nor 1952. Nor 1956. Nor 1960 (presuming that the atom bomb has not deposited radioactive dust over all people, and hence over all politics, by that time).

If these opponents of the labor party were to speak their true minds, or rather truly reflect the minds of their political superiors, they would say: "*Never is too soon to build a labor party.*"

But why should we—who are paying in declining living standards and increasing insecurity for every month of delay in the building of a labor party—hearken to this argument?

(2) *A labor party in the field will weaken the Democratic Party and ensure the election of reactionary Republicans.*

ANSWER: The majority of trade-union leaders are affiliated with the Democratic Party and this is their

stock argument. Naturally, such Republican union leaders as William Hutcheson of the Carpenters Union and (occasionally) John L. Lewis deny the validity of the argument, in favor of the Republicans.

We deny it in favor of the labor party.

Look! Is there such a measurable difference in the character of the two old parties as dictates to labor that it should continue to abstain from independent politics so as to throw its support to the Democratic Party? If there is such a difference, how is it revealed?

On the vote on the Taft-Hartley Act? But majorities of both parties voted for that act, and voted to pass it over Truman's veto.

But, after all, Truman vetoed it? Of course. It was politically expedient for him to do so. In his place, a Taft or a Stassen would have done the same thing—*since he knew it would be passed over his veto.*

How Great Is the Difference?

Is one party less subservient to Wall Street than the other? No. The big banks and industrialists impartially support both parties. Henry Wallace and the *Chicago Tribune* are only speaking the truth when they enumerate the Wall Street characters who are breathing down Harry Truman's neck in the White House and setting policy for the Truman administration.

Is one party less war-minded than the other? If anything, the Democratic Party has the worst of this argument, if only because there are more isolationists in the Republican Party. Who is hottest for universal military training, if not Truman and his party? Whose diplomacy ensured that the U. S. would enter the Second World War, if not Roosevelt's? Do not both parties support the Marshall Plan, which proposes to organize Europe behind Wall Street for the Third World War, under the guise of aiding Europe?

Which party has more corruption? Isn't it a tossup

between the Democrats' Flynn, Kelly, Pendergast, Curley, and Hague machines, and the Republicans' Pew and Green machines, etc.?

Which party does most to foster Jim Crow and hatred of the Negro, and thus to weaken labor by fostering race prejudice based on ignorance and superstition? The Democratic Party, with its solid cracker section in the South, doesn't look too good here. Let's agree that both old parties are abhorrent in this respect.

There are differences between the two parties, but they are secondary differences. The intelligent worker understands that both old parties are used impartially by big business to suppress him, and that it is of no interest to him *which* old party retains or gains office.

The intelligent worker understands his only legitimate interest is to work to throw *both* old parties out of office, and to replace them with a party which will be in every respect their superior—more responsive to the needs of the people, more conscious of the ability of modern industry when properly organized to give a decent living and security to *all* the people, more interested in human than in property rights, more interested in planning and spending for peace than for war, more interested in getting along with and aiding the exploited peoples of other lands to throw off their exploiters than to strengthen their exploiters to stay in power.

(3) If a labor party were organized with the support of the trade unions and failed in its first attempt to elect its candidates to office, then "labor would be without representation or standing in Washington, the state capitals, the city halls."

ANSWER: Don't make me laugh, my lip is cracked. Labor, thanks to the treacherous political policy of the labor leaders, has been without representation in Washington and elsewhere for generations.

Labor's suggestions and prayers have been met with contempt by both Republican and Democratic officeholders. Labor's bloody struggles for higher wages have been opposed by Democratic Mayor Kelly's police and by Roosevelt and Truman's national guard no less than by Stassen's "slave-labor law" in Minnesota or by Taft-Hartley's national anti-labor law. The struggle of the unemployed for relief standards that would keep body and soul together was met with imprisonment at the hands of Roosevelt's Department of Justice as well as with criminally inadequate relief standards fostered by both old parties. The old parties quibbled about granting one billion dollars for relief in 1939—and spent hundreds of times that amount in the next five years "relieving" workers in other lands of their lives and homes.

No Representation in Congress

We are glad that was brought up—the one about labor's having no representation in Washington. If the Democratic-Republican setup is truly representative of the interests of all the people of this nation, as its supporters claim, how come there is not one single worker in Congress? There are, as Murray and Green and Whitney will admit, approximately 16 million organized workers and twice that number unorganized. Yet, far from being represented in Congress, the entire working class of the United States is disfranchised. There was not a single workingman in the 80th Congress.

It is this 80th Congress which removed federal price controls with the promise that prices would not thereafter rise; which dealt a staggering blow to unions through the Taft-Hartley Act; which put money in the hands of the real-estate operators through the easing of rent control; which approved a foreign policy which promotes monarchical reaction in Greece, semi-fascism in China, imperialism in Southeast Asia, and neo-fascism in Western Europe; which has placed the costs of

the imperialist war largely upon the backs of the working class.

Perhaps Murray or Green would argue that there are *some* or a *few* friends of labor in Washington. If there be such, they surely haven't fought for labor in the way that true friends fight—the way that the true friends of the Southern employers fight proposals to abolish Jim Crow, for instance.

The *real truth* of the matter is that once labor showed it was on to the crooked dice of boss politics and refused to play that game any longer, once it turned its back on the old parties and struck out on the path to independent politics, it would receive *a thousand times more consideration* from the boss politicians than it does today.

Because then the old parties would be put on the defensive, they would be put on their best behavior, they would try by many means to convince labor that they were still its friends, they would know that every further exhibition of labor-hatred on their part would *only* hasten the success of the labor-party movement.

(4) *The fight to build a labor party is too difficult.*

ANSWER: We do not for a moment minimize the tough work involved in building a labor party—the thousand and one legal restrictions which the old parties have drawn up to protect their political monopoly, etc. But that is no reason to duck the fight. The fight is, after all, not impossible. In many states there would be no fight at all. The Wallace-Stalinist movement, much as we disagree with its politics, has shown that much.

Every argument advanced to show the difficulty of organizing a labor party was also advanced, generations ago, against those brave characters who undertook to build the trade-union movement. Yet the union movement was built, at what cost only its intrepid pioneers know.

(5) *Look at what happened in 1924 to La Follette.*

ANSWER: Well, really look at the 1924 elections—and what has happened since. In 1924 the official union movement came out for old Robert La Follette for president, on a third-party ticket. He was a progressive boss politician of his day, nothing more. He didn't run on a labor-party ticket. He didn't have a labor party behind him. His platform wasn't particularly attractive to labor. Leading Democratic and Republican union office-holders knifed his campaign. The whole union movement in those years numbered only about four million. Yet La Follette won about five million votes, more than 12 per cent of the total.

Labor Is Stronger Than Ever!

But look at the union movement today! Four times as large. About 16 million trade-union members. Why, if a campaign were organized with a whole heart, if the proper educational work were done, if a platform were adopted which answered the needs of the exploited, if they were drawn into the work, made to feel truly that it was their party, the labor party in its very first try could soar far beyond La Follette's record, and could capture scores of state offices and congressional posts. By the second election the labor party would be ready to aim at the White House and the establishment of a labor government.

After all, labor has learned a thing or two since the La Follette campaign. It has been through the long depression and the second long war. It has had to endure post-war inflation. It has had to endure the continuing indifference of both old parties to its needs. It is *ready for change*, to a much greater extent than it was in 1924.

Those are the stock arguments against the labor party, and their answers. But there *is* one new argu-

ment, advanced only recently by the editor of *Labor*, a weekly newspaper published by the railroad unions. The argument deserves inclusion if only for comic relief.

(6) *Labor should be smart like big business. You don't see the bankers and industrialists try to build a new party of their own. No sir, they work through the old parties.*

You bet big business works through the Democratic and Republican Parties! Those parties *belong* to them. All the machinery of those parties, and of the government which those parties administer, has been adapted and modified so that those parties and the governmental machinery serve big business. So why should the rich organize a new party when they are so loyally served by the two existing parties, eager and trained to do the bidding of the rich?

The editor of *Labor* must have had a tiny hole in his head when he let that howler get into print.

Chapter 10

Henry Wallace and Labor

A LABOR party, by its very nature, is (1) based upon mass support from the unions, and (2) proposes a class program based upon the needs of the workers.

There have been several "third parties" in American history but they have not been such parties. There was Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose party in 1912; there was La Follette's Progressive Party in Wisconsin; but these movements served only to short-circuit the drive for independent labor political action. These were third capitalist parties and nothing more.

Henry Wallace's third-party movement plays this role today. But unlike even the above examples, which were based on notions of domestic reform, the Wallace movement is the creature of the Stalinists, designed primarily to implement the Kremlin's foreign policy in the United States. Wallace's third party was formed by the Stalinists and a small group of defeated Democratic politicians and liberals of a sort, who have no sympathy with nor understanding of labor's needs.

Wallace had no labor support, save that of the Stalinist union leaders. He was not nominated by the AFL, nor the CIO, nor the railroad brotherhoods, nor by any other section of the labor movement. The Stalinists and Wallace nominated him.

Wallace could not have been controlled by labor. There would have been nothing to prevent him from following any course he chose to follow, should he have won public office.

He did not consult labor when he decided to run for president in 1948. This fact, combined with Wallace's actual record in office from 1933 to 1946, and his Sta-

linist sponsorship, made him an unacceptable choice as a labor-party candidate.

Wallace is not a sympathizer of labor's, nor a believer in labor's necessary goal of socialism. Wallace fears and hates socialism, and defends capitalism, "progressive" capitalism he calls it. He is a capitalist himself, a millionaire farmer and businessman. He differs with most capitalists on the question of what foreign policy American big business should pursue, that is, he favors appeasement of Russia.

Wallace had many opponents besides those labor militants who aim to build a labor party. All his other opponents, however, attacked him from the right.

The old capitalist parties and politicians attacked Wallace for obvious and sometimes contradictory reasons. First, the success of his move toward a third capitalist party threatened their political monopoly, though not the capitalist system. Second, the Democrats felt Wallace would weaken their mass support. Above all, the Democrats and Republicans opposed Wallace because of his pro-Russian foreign policy. The Democratic and Republican Parties defend Wall Street, the Wallace movement defends the Kremlin.

The Wallace-Stalinist movement pretends to offer a "peace program." But this shoddy program proposes only to divide the whole world into Russian and American dominions, and thus appease Stalin's appetite, temporarily. Wallace offers the American workers only the choice between Moscow or Washington—not the choice between independent labor politics and capitalist politics.

The bureaucrats of the AFL and CIO and the anti-Stalinist liberals oppose Wallace, not because he fails to work toward a labor party, but because he opposes *their* capitalist political connections, and exposes *their* candidates. Union leaders like Murray and Tobin and Whitney are Democratic politicians. Any man who at-

tacks their party is a political enemy of theirs. That is the whole basis of their attack on Wallace.

Our criticism of Wallace has nothing in common with the criticism directed at him by capitalists and their political henchmen in and out of the union movement.

Wallace's Progressive Party has put together a fairly liberal platform as far as domestic reforms go. In fact, it is an open question whether a labor party, at the beginning, would do better or even just as well in this respect. And it must be said that Wallace himself, as well as his movement, displayed a great deal of courage in bucking Jim-Crow prejudices and customs in the South.

What Wallace Stood For

But Wallace did not run for president, nor was his movement organized, decisively on *these* issues. In his eyes, in the eyes of his supporters, and in our own opinion, the basic platform of the Wallace movement was its stand on peace—that is, on foreign policy. On this his program stands or falls.

His strong argument and appeal has been the fact (which everybody sees) that the Democrats and Republicans, joined in bipartisan coalition, are driving straight toward imposing American domination on the world, using the Marshall Plan and military aid abroad for this purpose. In this imperialist drive Washington comes in head-on conflict with Moscow's equally imperialist appetites. And nothing but a third world war can result as long as this trend is unchecked.

But what does Wallace propose to take the place of the bipartisan war policy? His "peace program" is just as old as the Truman-Dewey big stick. It boils down to this:

Appease Russia's imperialist desires by coming to an agreement with the Kremlin to divide up the world

into two "spheres of interest"—giving Stalin what he wants—and then there will be "peace"!

We say that this program—the heart of Wallaceism—is as bad as the Wall Street-government plan for the "American century." It is as sure to lead to war; it proposes a sellout of the peoples which are trying to fight against domination by either Washington or Moscow; it is simply a reflection of Stalin's interests where Truman and Dewey speak for the American rulers.

And American workers want no part of supporting either.

Throwing a chunk of meat to the hungry dogs in Moscow may quiet them down temporarily, but will only make them stronger for tomorrow when they are ready to reach out again. So it was with Hitler. This is why appeasement is betrayal.

Both American and Russian imperialism are just as grasping as ruthless empire-builders have always been. Peace cannot be attained by supporting the demands of either Washington or Moscow. It can be won only if the peoples throw their imperialist rulers out of power and take over themselves.

On this basic issue, Wallace stands in one camp and Wall Street's politicians in the other. But both take their stand in the interests of one or the other of the contenders in the "cold war." Both take their stand on the basis of an imperialist settlement. There is no road to peace that way.

The basic reason for existence of the Wallace movement is pro-Russian appeasement, and that is why it was so easy for the Stalinist Communist Party to run the movement and take Wallace himself into tow. That is also why the labor movement would have no part of it, and why Wallaceism is so isolated from the mainstream of labor. It is not the kind of party the workers need.

One thing the Wallace movement *has* done, and it is of great importance. Even this movement, with two strikes against it, clearly showed the strength of the grass-roots yearning for independent political action on the part of wide sections of the people. As more and more workers learned the truth about Wallaceism, his initial support waned; but the evidence is there that a tremendous undertow of sentiment exists, unorganized and untapped as yet, for the *kind* of movement which many at first thought they had found in Wallaceism.

Wallace got only a trickle from this powerhouse of energy which stands waiting for a real labor party. With that trickle, he showed that a third party *can* break through the restrictions placed by undemocratic electoral laws and conniving courts and politicians. A politically aroused labor movement could in a few months build a political instrument that would make Wallace's look like a pygmy.

This is the main lesson of the Wallace campaign, after the fury and shouting are over.

Chapter 11

How Labor Can Win the Support of the Majority of the People

THE largest social class in the United States is the working class. The organized workers alone total more than 16 million, and with their families constitute almost a third of the population. The unorganized urban and rural workers bring the total to well over half.

Our chief problem is to consolidate our own class and to aim to win over substantial numbers of the lower middle classes in the city and country and to neutralize the remainder.

How does the working class win allies? The bureaucrats at the head of the union movement—the Greens, Tobins, Murrays, Dubinskys, Hutchesons, Lewises—don't know. Indeed, they never even ask the question, because they reject the very idea that the workers should organize politically as a class. To their mind, the workers should tag along after big business and its two-headed party system.

But supposing a labor party is organized, as it certainly will be: How will we win support of the masses?

There will be thousands of clever liberals eager to tell us: "Look as much like the Republican and Democratic Parties as possible. Wave the flag. Sing a-men. Then the masses will follow you."

No, then the masses will *not* follow the labor party. Why? Because the two old banker-controlled parties can always wave the flag more furiously and convincingly than we can, can shout twice as pay-triotically over twice as many radio stations and in twice as many newspapers. Because it is just exactly this old blarney that the masses are sick to death of.

The people sense that only a radical solution of the social problem offers them hope. For years they have

seen the labor leaders support the old-party candidates, hail each election as a "great progressive victory," and then, a few months later, curse the government as "the most reactionary ever."

When labor comes out always at the same tree, it has lost its way. The people sense this. They saw what Roosevelt's liberal phrasemongering has added up to. They are listening carefully for what they want to hear. Once they are convinced that the union movement has a political program for all the exploited and is determined to advance that program, the people will flock to the labor party.

The great General Motors strike of 1946 showed this. When Reuther advanced the slogan of wage increases without price increases—a union's way of telling the public it will protect the public interest against the corporations—opinion polls showed that the people were overwhelmingly for the United Auto Workers and against General Motors.

Why? Because here, for the first time, a union was thinking in broad social terms, was not only protecting its members but protecting the public interest. Of course the people want this, and of course they will respond.

You cannot win broad support by the old, narrow-minded, selfish trade-union politics of tailing the old parties, seeking wage increases and forgetting about price increases, engaging in jurisdictional strikes against the interests of the workers and public.

A labor party that breaks cleanly with the hateful double-crossing capitalist parties, that boldly proclaims a new program of progressive demands for the masses and a new concept of government, that expresses its determination to take over control of the nation's destinies in the name of and in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, will win the support of the overwhelming majority.

Chapter 12

What Program for a Labor Party?

THE labor party will be based upon and controlled by the unions. The policies of the labor party will be determined by the unions.

A democratic union is a forum for various programs. The union members with different viewpoints put forward their own political and social programs for the union. This is right and proper. In the long run, if the union is democratic, that social and political program which best defends and advances the interests of the union and the working class will win the support of the union.

We socialists of the Workers Party will also put forward our program for the union and the labor party and seek by all democratic and honest means to win support for this program. But if this program is not the one which the labor party adopts, the Workers Party will still loyally support the labor party in its struggles against the old capitalist parties. Where we believe the labor party in principle or practice falls short of defending and advancing labor's interests, we shall criticize it.

If the unions were to put a national labor party in the field now, we would advance the following program for that party:

(1) *Fight for labor's rights!* Repeal the Taft-Hartley Law. Stop the re-enactment of any of its provisions which restrict labor's right to organize and strike, or which permit government strikebreaking. Defeat any "purge" plan like the proposed Mundt Bill.

(2) *Job security for all!* We need: a minimum wage of \$1 an hour; automatic wage increases to meet the

increased cost of living, to come out of profits; a planned rise in the standard of living to guarantee an annual wage of \$5,000; weekly unemployment insurance benefits of \$35; increased old-age pension and the lowering of the retirement age from 65 to 55; a national health program with full coverage for every family.

(3) *Pull down the high cost of living!* Roll back prices to the 1939 level. Establish trade-union and consumer committees to control prices.

(4) *Fight for civil liberties!* Make all religious and racial discrimination and segregation a criminal offense. Abolish all discriminatory quotas in housing projects and schools. Pass an anti-lynch law with teeth in it, and set up a national Fair Employment Practices Act. Abolish the poll tax. Abolish all discrimination and segregation in the armed forces.

(5) *Build homes!* A \$250 billion five-year program of public works to build 20 million low-rental homes as well as schools, hospitals, playgrounds and nurseries.

(6) *Raise the money by taxing concentrated wealth!* Impose a 100 per cent tax on all profits over five per cent on invested capital, and a \$25,000 ceiling on all incomes. Tax the real-estate interests for building improvements.

(7) *Nationalize the big monopolies!* Nationalize the banks and the steel trust, the food companies, railroads and construction industries—under the direction of democratically elected workers' committees.

(8) *Stop the militarization of the United States!* Repeal the draft law. Stop plans for universal military training.

(9) *Against Wall Street's drive to dominate the world through the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall*

Plan! Economic aid to the war-torn countries without political strings. Withdraw American troops and all other armies of occupation.

(10) *Support Israel's right to live!* For full recognition of and no arms embargo on the state of Israel. For unrestricted immigration to Palestine and to the United States.

For a socialist America, a socialist United States of Europe, a socialist world federation!

This is the program *we* would propose, as socialists, on the basis of the issues now current. How far the labor party itself would go toward such a thoroughgoing program of radical demands would, of course, depend on the political development of its own membership.

But the important *first* step is that the working class organize itself politically and *get moving*, even if its program and outlook is far less radical to begin with. Once the labor movement gets moving with its own political party, we are confident that it will go further and further along the road of fighting the evils of capitalism.

Chapter 13

How Long Will It Take?

THERE is no guarantee. It took the British trade unions a generation before they convinced the majority of the British people that labor should lead the nation.

On the other hand, in a critical situation somewhat comparable to labor's situation today, it took the new Republican Party only six years to start from scratch (in 1854) and spring into undisputed leadership of this nation. As against the slaveholding group which controlled the Democratic Party, the young Republican Party then represented the progressive capitalist class—just as today, the infant labor-party movement represents the progressive working class as against the old and decaying capitalist class.

It may take four, eight, even twelve years for the labor party to take over the reins of government. It will almost certainly take more than four years, unless the whole capitalist system meets some unlooked-for catastrophe that finally enlightens tens of millions of people as to its monstrous, murderous character.

Even if we get the bulk of the union movement and its leaders to subscribe to and work for a labor party and to run a national slate, the real crisis will come at the first election when we fall short of the goal.

Then all the hidden enemies and "plants" of the old parties in the ranks of labor will try to stampede us back to their rotten political machines. They'll start whispering campaigns; they'll whine that the whole thing is a mistake; they'll encourage the summer patriots to introduce proposals that the labor party give up its fight and that labor resign itself to subservience to capitalism; they'll strive to water down the program of the labor party with the argument that the move-

ment is too radical for the people; they'll try to organize deals with the old parties.

We must become inured to the permanent red scare which will be the obvious weapon of capitalism against us, even if the Stalinists are a negligible factor in the labor party. This red scare will never let up, it will become more and more hysterical, as we begin to open up a path of hope for the people, it will batter at the labor party and try to terrorize it in all sorts of ways.

Union men and women who are serious about fighting for a labor party must learn how to shrug off contemptuously the red-baiting of the capitalists and their politicians, must learn how to expose its roots and to counterattack, to educate, to enlighten, to explain, and thus to render ineffective the reactionaries' appeals to ignorance and prejudice.

Another obvious weapon that will be used, especially at election time, is that of seeking to induce the young labor party to make "deals" with the discredited capitalist politicians who, seeing that they cannot lick us, will try to join us. Many forms of "all-party" committees and political blocs will be proposed, many squeezed lemons among the capitalist politicians will try to jump on our bandwagon and mislead the movement.

We must particularly guard against the proposal—which is sure to be made by one or another of the old parties—that we run our own candidates in the state elections but support one of the capitalist politicians on the national scene. The labor party must show such people and such proposals the back of its hand.

While the labor party will welcome and encourage and win thousands and hundreds of thousands of supporters from among the intellectuals and the middle class, these people must come to the labor party on its own terms, understand its goals, recognize labor's right to lead the movement and determine its course. Why labor's right? Because labor, by its position in capital-

ist society as the most exploited class and at the same time the class best organized by its position in the factories, is the *only* class that can lead a progressive struggle against the capitalist class.

Labor's Allies

The labor party must take particular efforts to win over the farm organizations and farm cooperatives, by advancing progressive demands that defend the interests of these people, by conferring with them and giving sympathetic consideration to their plight and their ideas.

A particularly fruitful field for the labor party will be among the youth, in the colleges and in the factories.

Since the end of the war, the labor movement has lost contact with the youth, especially the veterans in the schools and colleges studying under the GI "bill of rights." While the federal subsidy to such students has been grossly inadequate, yet it has been enough to separate them for a period from the working class. In the colleges they have had their heads stuffed with all sorts of nonsense about the grandiose prospects capitalism has for them.

Unless we misread the signs, just about the time many of these young veterans are to graduate from college the depression of 1929-40 will have resumed its sway. There will be few jobs for the millions of graduates, and what few jobs there are will pay little. Reality will strike these youth like a bolt of lightning. We can expect a very rapid radicalization of the youth.

One can expect that the youth will seize upon the labor-party idea and help to carry it far along the path to success.

Chapter 14

What if a Labor Party Is Not Built?

HAVE you thought of what is in store for the union movement if it *doesn't* find the resources within itself to take the road of independent labor political action?

Failure to take this step will inexorably lead to the weakening of organized labor, the cutting down of the unions, loss of membership, and finally the disintegration of the very organizations which the old-time labor leaders think to save by their "sane" tactic of pressure politics and "support of the lesser evil."

These are new times. The tactics that worked from 1890 to 1940 don't work any more. Capitalism is going downhill fast. In Europe it is already bankrupt. Big business in the United States can no longer afford the luxury of strong unions and union wage scales, union working rules, the luxury of civil liberties.

This is the meaning of the Taft-Hartley Act, the proposals for abolition of the forty-hour week, the increasing attacks on workers' rights by most of the state governments, the proposal to outlaw union contracts on a national scale, the red scares, the growing militarization of the nation, the influx of Wall Street men into policy posts in Washington. This is the meaning of high taxes upon the workers.

The union movement is facing a major crisis, and its leaders haven't the courage to sound the alarm, to mobilize the ranks for an all-sided fight.

Their tactic of tailing the old parties in the 1948 election will only lead to new disappointments, to more cries of "betrayal" as the politicians whom they now label "liberal" and "friends of labor" obey their real masters after elections. Given the tactic being followed by Murray, Green, Hutcheson, Whitney & Co., it is in-

evitable that reaction will continue to grow after the 1948 elections.

The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act should have opened everyone's eyes to the true state of affairs. There is no explaining away the hard fact that the *majority of both old parties voted for this anti-labor act*. And the even more ominous fact that the non-union public itself made little outcry at the time the law was passed.

Why didn't the people protest against the Taft-Hartley onslaught on labor? Because too many people have lost confidence in the labor movement. Because many people, watching the antics of the big union leaders, believe that labor is as selfish and narrow as are the monopolies, that labor is interested only in protecting its own rights, that the unions are only job trusts, that the union leadership has no higher ideals than the corporations and the capitalist politicians.

If This Goes On . . .

The people see the AFL building-trades unions conspire with the building-materials trust and the contractors and local political machines, to prevent an easing of the housing situation by the introduction of modern prefabricated housing.

The people see a brutal bureaucrat like Dan Tobin run his teamsters' union as though he were Czar of All the Russias, crushing democracy in local after local, issuing edicts to the members as though they were soulless serfs, precipitating jurisdictional strikes whose only "aim" and "ideal" is that of forcing more dues-paying members into the teamsters' union.

The people see Gorman of the AFL Butcher Workmen obviously carrying the ball for the packing trust, come out against meat rationing at a time when prices have placed meat beyond the reach of the average American family.

The people see many unions demanding higher wages

without a thought for higher prices, without a thought of demanding of the corporations that they not raise prices. The people have learned to expect no consideration from the corporations and monopolies. They expected more from the unions.

The people can see, as can most union members, that it is stupid to seek wage raises *without also demanding that prices not be increased*. The people know that corporation profits almost reached the \$20 billion mark in 1947, that industry has been gouging the nation without mercy through high prices, that industry could well afford wage increases without price increases; yet it sees the unions ask only for higher wages, a demand which (if granted) is soon wiped out by price rises, to everyone's hurt.

The people are as sick of the Democratic-Republican sham battle as you are. But they see no other claimant to leadership.

Instead they see Philip Murray and William Green and A. L. Whitney proclaiming that Truman is a liberal, a friend of the people, a continuator of the New Deal (as though that were good), when everyone with half an eye can see that Truman is the tool of big business, and that Truman's policies, both at home and abroad, are designed only to increase the profits of America's Sixty Families.

If labor continues on its present course, there is the danger that the people will not give a damn if Congress takes another swat at labor, and another swat, until the unions are seriously weakened. Think again!

Either labor will break away from its cowardly political past and build its own labor party, begin to assume leadership and responsibility for the broad masses of the people—or labor leaves itself open to be hamstrung.

Chapter 15

Socialists and the Labor Party

THE formation of a labor party is not an end in itself. Every political party is, of course, an instrument, a weapon, a means.

We and large numbers of workers already are for a labor party now, and even larger masses will push it through to realization tomorrow, because it will be a great step forward toward building a new society of freedom and security. It can mean a workers' America in which *those who produce the wealth of the nation by their toil and sweat* will no longer be the "under-privileged" while *those who live by owning* are able to skim the cream and hold the real power.

Freedom and security, democracy and peace: these are weighty words! But what do they mean? How can they really be achieved? What must be done to make them realities in our own lives?

To answer these questions we must look a step beyond a labor party, to farther goals.

It is the opinion of some that this is not necessary, that it is enough to keep the eye only on the immediate goal right in front of one's nose. That is like saying that you should build a house by placing one brick on top of another and seeing what happens. But instead you decide in advance what *kind* of house you want and build toward it—naturally making any necessary modifications as you go along.

The socialist movement consists of those workers who, looking ahead, see *a new society* arising from the struggle of the little people to achieve real freedom and security and peace.

The basic idea of socialism is this: We have reached the point where the next step required for the great goal of freedom and security is *economic democracy*.

We spend a third of our life under a dictatorship—yes, right here in the United States! It is the dictatorship of the boss in the factory or shop. Our economic life is owned and controlled by the private owners of industry, and each of these private owners is an autocrat in his private domain.

Our goal is security and democracy and peace, but the goal of these economic autocrats is something else again. It is profits, their own profits, and nothing but profits. This is the very nature of the private-profit system under which we live, the system of capitalism. And we have seen where this is leading us.

Profit vs. the people: Just as soon as the working people organize their scattered strength in the mighty weapon of a labor party, just so soon will we run up against the fact that the profit system stands in the way of progress.

We socialists say: *It is this capitalist profit system, this private exploitation of our common wealth, which has to be swept out of the way if the irresistible movement of the people is to build a better world.*

The system of capitalism has had its day. It was once young and brought about revolutionary changes; in our day it is old and senile and decaying.

One of the great achievements of capitalism was that it enormously developed the forces of production, with the result that today production is already largely "socialized" in a sense. Production is no longer based on one man on a farm, or a dozen men in a shop. In some industries, tens of thousands of people work together.

In itself this is highly desirable. Large-scale enterprise is far more productive, economical and efficient than are a thousand little enterprises, each performing two or three operations uncoordinated with the others and unplanned. Middle-class politicians like Henry Wallace—who talks about going back to small business—do not understand this. To try to turn the clock back by

breaking up the octopus-trusts into small-business fragments is as impossible as it is undesirable. The solution is, not to go backward from large-scale production to horse-and-buggy enterprise, but to *take over* the industrial giants in the interests of all society; to organize them to produce goods for the use of all and not for the profits of a few.

A planned utilization of our productive equipment (and of the better equipment to come) could easily assure plenty of the good things of life for all.

Production has been "socialized" in big units, but these big units are private monopolies. What has not been socialized is the ownership of industry and the products of industry. Here is the *root* of capitalist exploitation and oppression, of low living standards for the masses, of crises and unemployment, and of imperialist wars.

The Aim of Socialism

The idea of socialism is that the basic means of production and distribution be owned, and controlled, and enjoyed by all the people—in a society democratically run by the masses who work.

The capitalist profit-makers produce only when they can make a profit, and hold back production when they can't. A democratic workers' government will produce the goods required to feed, house and clothe the people and satisfy all their other needs.

The capitalist profit-makers plan also, but their planning is within each company to cut the throat of their rival; they produce shoddy goods to make greater profits; they do not plan for the benefit of society as a whole but *against* the benefit of society as a whole. A democratic workers' government will be interested only in producing that which is of most use, with as little waste as possible.

The capitalist profit-makers seek markets and in-

vestment opportunities abroad and come into conflict with the profit-seekers of every other nation. Democratic workers' governments will produce that which they are best fitted to produce, under a planned exchange of products between the different countries. This world of ours can operate harmoniously only as one world, one unity; the capitalist profit-makers build up the national frontiers as fortress walls. Socialism, on the contrary, is internationalist in the only true sense. World unity will be possible when the people rule, and wars will devastate the world as long as the capitalist rivals rule their separate roosts.

We do not paint socialism as a utopia where all problems will be automatically solved. We say only that no problems can even begin to be solved until the basis is laid in economic democracy and the taking over of society by a democratic workers' government.

A democratic workers' government — that is why Russia is *not* socialist and has no resemblance to socialism, contrary to the claims of Stalin's followers here. In Russia the capitalists have been replaced by a new class of exploiters, the government bureaucracy, because the Stalin counter-revolution has destroyed every vestige of workers' democracy and destroyed all the gains of the great Russian Revolution of 1917. *And workers' democracy is the key to socialism.*

It is this great goal of real socialism which is the aim of the Workers Party. We have no interests apart from the working class. But we have ideas which are not yet the possession of the whole working class. And that being so, we believe in fighting in the front ranks with our brothers for every next step forward, for every immediate gain.

Here in the United States the next forward step lies in the creation of a labor party.



**EVERY
WEEK —**

read the
hardest-hitting
workers'
newspaper
in the U. S.!

LABOR ACTION

for

Highlights on the Labor Front

The Negro People's Fight

World Politics

Socialist Views and News

----- **SUBSCRIBE NOW!** -----

LABOR ACTION

4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

I want to subscribe for:

6 mo. at 50¢ ☐

1 yr. at \$1.00 ☐

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY ZONE.....

READ ABOUT SOCIALISM!

THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM.....Cloth \$2.00
by Max Shachtman Paper 1.00

SOCIALISM: HOPE OF HUMANITY..... .10
by Max Shachtman

PLENTY FOR ALL..... .25
by Erriest Erber

MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES..... .35
by Leon Trotsky

THE NEW COURSE.....Cloth 2.00
by Leon Trotsky Paper 1.50

(Including **THE STRUGGLE FOR THE
NEW COURSE**, by Max Shachtman)

Order from

WORKERS PARTY PUBLICATIONS
4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

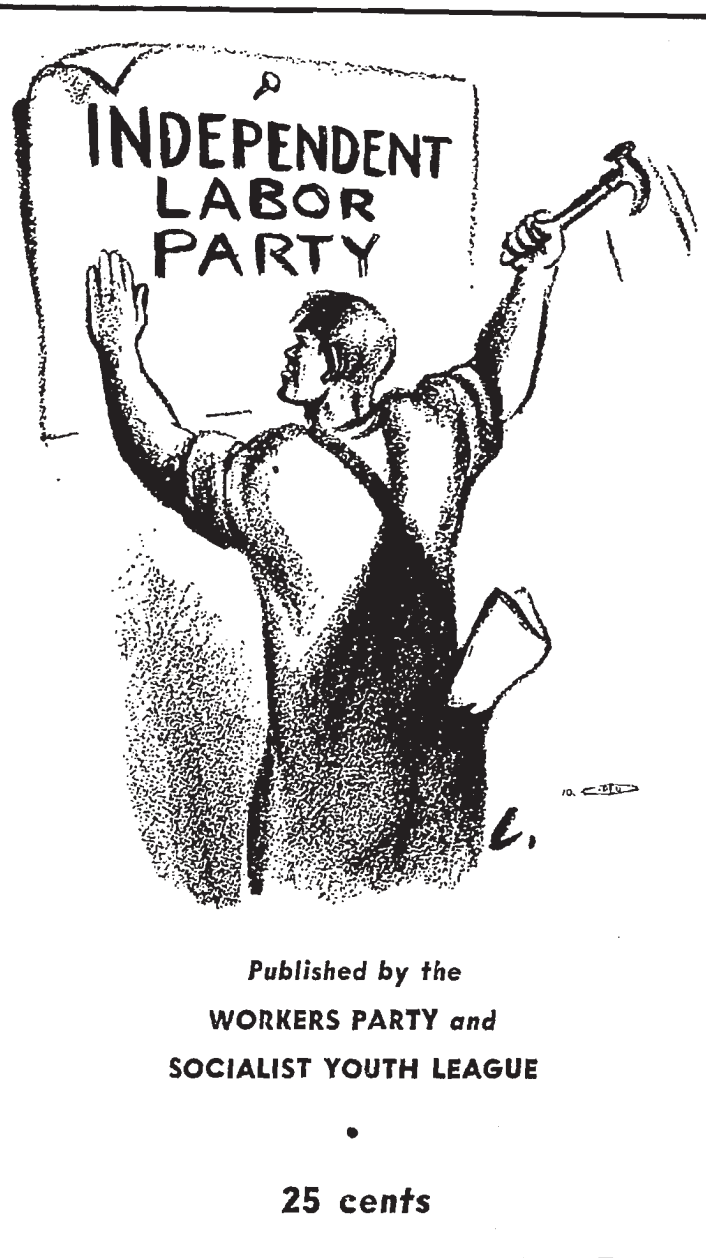
WORKERS PARTY INFORMATION BLANK

I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the United States. Will you please send me all information as to your Program and how I can become a member.

Name

Address

.....



Published by the
**WORKERS PARTY and
SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE**

•
25 cents